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REAL ORIGIN

OF

GOVERNMENT.

BY

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CHURCH

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THE *arguments* urged in this pamphlet, were more familiar to the nation eighty or ninety years ago, than they are at present. They were then pressed upon the publick, with great success. May they meet with equal success now! They are much more wanted, as the spirit of republican turbulence is much more predominant. For *this* reason and with *that* hope, I resolved to reproduce them before the eye of the nation; to arrange them in a new form, and to exhibit them in a new dress, calculated immediately for the present times. I have therefore wound up all, with such an account of the late eruption of republicanism in France, as I think to be strikingly just in itself, and

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know to be peculiarly proper to the nation at this moment. And I have prefixed my name to the whole, as scorning to sculk in darkness; when every principle calls us all to come forward into light; knowing a name to be in some measure requisite, for distinguishing every pamphlet; hoping mine may lend a little distinction, to this; thus giving it every chance for attracting general notice, producing general conviction, and so doing general good.

December 1794.



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WHEN we view man comparatively, in his situation under Heathenism, and in his condition under Revelation ; we behold him very different from himself. We behold him degraded in the one, and exalted in the other. In the one, we see him ignorant of the end for which he was sent into the world, of his destination for the world of spirits, and of the acts which are to answer that end, or to bless this destination, to him. In the other we see him, knowing his present state to be merely probationary and progressive ; aspiring to a future settlement in Heaven, as the proposed consummation of his being ; sensible of the powerful aids administered, to invigorate his aspira-
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tions after it ; and conscious of the awful means provided, to crown his exertions with success.

While the Heathen also was exploring in darkness the origin of evil upon earth, and sat down at last exhausted in the vain research, with only a faint glimmer of tradition just playing upon his closed eyeballs ; we find that the Jew, happy under the beams of Revelation, was well-appriized of this origin, was fully informed of the cause, and was deeply lamenting over the effect. The Jew, who had the Sun of Revelation vertical to him, and therefore moved on in religious knowledge without one shade about him, was familiar with the fact which had brought evil into a world, necessarily formed at first in a relative perfection by God. He read the fact in that history of our race, which God had condescended to write for man, to tell him his original condition, to show him his declension from it, to refer the evil with which he was surrounded to the sinfulness by which he was tainted, and so lay the foundation of his recovery in the intelligence of his malady. He had it continually rehearsed to his mind, in that mode of worship by Sacrifices, which he read to have been observed by the immediate sons of Adam, and which he saw to be continued with a solemn carefulness in his own times ; a mode strange and striking in itself, utterly incompatible with a world of innocence and happiness, compatible

tible only with a world of sin and death, and calculated merely to remind man of his fall, to remind man too of the atonement provided by God for his sins, and to plead before God the merits of that atonement, by representing it. While the Heathen still repeated the worship, without knowing the particular cause, without seeing the peculiar end, of it; only receiving the rite from tradition, and perceiving from it only the general sinfulness of man, with the general necessity of some atonement for him; the Jew perceived and knew all, perceived himself a fallen as well as a sinful being, knew the Lamb upon the altar to be the similitude of the Lamb of God, and in these models of the mighty sacrifice, these perpetually recurring sacraments of blood, looked with the keen eye of faith through the solemn shadow, to the infinitely more solemn substance.

Just so is the case, with the ORIGIN of GOVERNMENT upon earth. The Heathens were wholly ignorant of this, while the Jews were well acquainted with it. The Heathens had not one particle of knowledge, concerning the first formation of man; and must naturally therefore be groping in darkness, for the institution of government over him. But the Jews beheld this origin, luminously displayed in their code of Revelation; and, in that display, saw clearly the institution of this government.

Government indeed originated with Man himself. Even common-sense suggests to us, that it necessarily must. When Man was created, could a God of any goodness, could a God of any wisdom, have left him without a regimen or rule for his political direction, to ramble unrestrained over the face of the earth, to act uncontrouled by any authority over him, and at last, in the perceptions of his own wants, in the feeling of his own miseries, to conceive, to determine upon, and to fabricate, a form of government for himself? Could HE, who has ranged his very Angels, we know, in all the gradations and orders of political society, under the immediate authority of himself; who has divided them in general, into Angels and Archangels; who has even sub-divided them into particular classes, of "Thrones" and "Dominions" and "Principalities" and "Powers;" could HE thus turn out Man upon the common of nature, to roam over it like "the wild-asse's colt," to kick and be kicked, without property, without protection, but with a certain perpetuity of injuries done and returned? He certainly could not thus leave his creature, to exhibit himself as the mad-man of the universe before the eyes of his angels,

3 Born free as nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the Noble Savage ran.

DRYDEN.

* Col. i. 16.

and

and to beat himself into his sober senses by a reciprocation of blows and bruises. HE, who formed the Angels in the subordinations of government, must equally have formed Man also ; and the Jew, who heard a Heathen prate, as the Heathens (we know) were apt to prate, of Man being thus created originally by God, must have smiled with high contempt upon a language, so derogatory to God, so degrading to Man, so contradictory to the facts of his Heaven-descended history.*

In that history we find the very state, for which our bodily distinctions, our sexual passions, and the transmission of our race in a course of descent, show us plainly to be organized by God ; actually instituted, and formally authorized, by God himself. Yet, even in this state, God made a special provision for the government of Man. The Heathens indeed were so ignorant, that all their naturalists were puzzled to determine, whether the

* Cum proreperunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter,
Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus ;
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque, invenere : dehinc *abstistere bella,*
Oppida coeperunt munire, et ponere leges,
Neu quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.

HORACE.

Hen

Hen or the Egg was prior in point of time.^a Still more must they have been puzzled, had their minds ever risen to the dignity of conjecturing, how the first man or the first woman was introduced into the world, whether the woman or the man was prior, and whether they dropt hand in hand from the sky, or were created both together upon earth. But the Scriptures of the Jews sweep away these clouds of ignorance at once, and let down the clear day-light upon us. Man was made first, we know, and woman afterwards.—Nor was this a circumstance merely incidental, in the formation of the first pair. No circumstance can be incidental, in the conduct of God. Even the minutest point of a circumstance cannot be, in an act so important, so solemn, as the creation of a new race of rational beings, as the beginning of a new world of probationers, in a couple of parents for them. The Jews therefore considered it, as a marking circumstance in the act; as one peculiarly intended by God, for a mark of superiority in one of the couple to the other; as

^a Plutarch in *Symposia*, lib. ii. cap. 3. Εκ δὲ καὶ τὸ σπορον καὶ πολλὰ πρᾶγματα τοῖς ζῴουσι παρέχον, εἰς μίαν εἰκὴ πρόβλημα περὶ τοῦ οὐ καὶ τῆς οὐδοῦ, ὅποῦρα γίνωσιν πρότερον αὐτῶν. Censorinus de *Die natali*, cap. iv. "Quod negent omnino posse reperiri, avescne antè an ova generata sint, cum et ovum sine ave, et avis sine ovo, gigni non possit." In Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, lib. vii. cap. 16. is a conversation upon the question, "ovumne prius extiterit an gallina."

God's own character stamped upon each in their very creation, for obedience in the one and for authority in the other. This is evident from a passage in our own Scriptures, which at once shows us the opinion of the Jewish church, and engrafts it as an article of faith upon the creed of the Christian. That pre-eminent scholar in the Jewish law, that glorious Apostle of Christianity to the Gentiles, St. Paul, commands the woman to be in subjection to the man; and appeals to this very circumstance as the *ground* of his command, "for ADAM was, " FIRST formed, THEN EVE."

So carefully did God lay the foundations of all government, in the very first steps that he took towards the formation of one Parental Pair! He laid them even in his very order of creation, in the very succession of his creative acts, and in the very measure of moments at which he created them. He left not the first man and the first woman to contest precedency, to dispute authority, or to share it equally between them. He fixed the precedency of nature, in the priority of formation; in a circumstance, that he took care to preserve; in an incident, that he took care to record; in a point, that has always stood prominent to the eye of religion, Jewish or Christian, and has always been considered as God's own signature, for the subjection of one sex to the other. That awful Being, who is the God of order and not of confusion,

sion, would not suffer even the husband and the wife to be co-ordinate powers in the family; as such a sufferance would have frequently produced distractions, between the clashing authorities; *this* authority have effectually counter-balanced *that*, at times; and all possibility of government have been occasionally precluded, in his new world. No! he fixed a center of power in one, to be the basis of all obedience, the stability of all peace, in the other; and commanded even Eve, though created by his own immediate operation equally with Adam himself, to be subject to Adam.

Yet this was not all the provision, that God made for the present or future government of his new world. He actually formed an addition to it, still more striking than the original provision, and uniting wonderfully with it. Though he had drawn a strong and broad line of authority in Adam over Eve, by the posterioir creation of Eve to Adam; yet fearful, as it were, of the Human Spirit not attending sufficiently to this line, he made it still broader and stronger by *forming woman out of the side of man*. This memorable event in our creation, so familiar to our minds at present, speaks very forcibly to them, and tells us the designed subjection of Eve to Adam in a very emphatical tone. It has indeed done so, in every age of Judaism or of Christianity. And the doctrine resulting from it, has been incorporated into the substance

substance of our religion, by the same representative of the Jewish church to us, and the same Apostle of the Gospel to the Gentiles, as has enforced upon us the doctrine of Adam's pre-
 cedeny of nature, from Adam's priority of formation; St. Paul, in another passage, grounding the subjection of woman to man upon this fact,
 "for the man is not OFF the woman, but *the*
 "woman OFF *the man*, neither was the man cre-
 "ated FOR the woman, but *the woman FOR the*
 "man." 2

So closely are the threads of government entwisted by GOD, with the first texture of human life, and the first elements of social union in man! The *fact* is accordingly registered upon the pages of inspiration, as the everlasting witnesses of the *doctrine*. This is equally the case with the doctrine of marriages, the doctrine of sacrifices, and the *consequent* doctrine of publick prayers, publick priests, and publick temples. The doctrines delivered are recorded only in the *acts* noticed. Yet, as the continuation of the acts reflected a light back upon the notices, so the notices again served to shew the commencement of the acts. Then came an Apostle, as a kind of middle man betwixt Judaism and Christianity, to connect both together, to shew the opinion of both concerning

the origin of government in Scripture, and to fix that opinion upon the *double* ground of inspiration for ever.

Nor did GOD even yet relax, from binding the nerves of obedience and peace into one close tie of sensibility together. He added another sanction to his two before, one still more energetic than both. He had begun mankind in a single pair, thus graduated one under the other; and he determined the rest of mankind should be created by *them*, in the graduation of children to parents. Eve was subjected to Adam, and their common descendants were subjected to both. This principle is so plain from the very nature of our birth, coming as we come into the world in all the weakness of infancy, wanting the assistance of our parents, calling for it continually by our cries, even sure to perish if our calls are not heard and our wants are not supplied; that the Jewish Scriptures, that even the Christian, have *not* thought it requisite to enforce the principle *from the fact*, and have only fixed the principle in "the first commandment with promise." ^a The doctrine was previously left, and is still left in its main substance, to rest upon a basis even more sure than the Scriptures themselves are, even more certain than any declaration from Heaven can be;

^a Ephes. vi. 2.

the very evidence of our senses, the very testimony of universal experience, the very seeing and feeling of all mankind.

On this everlasting pillar of truth, has God founded the government of man. The pillars of the earth *may* tremble, and sink under their load; but the pillar of government never can. God has fixed *those* for a season only, but he has pitched *this* for an Eternity. The world will pass away at its allotted hour, but Man will not pass with it. The world will be thoroughly polluted with its sins, be purified by fire, and then be reduced into its original chaos again, that storehouse of unstained matter, which is kept filled probably for the formation of new worlds; while Man will migrate to a superiour region of existence, there incorporate with the Angels, and there live with them in subjection to authority still. Man is therefore habituated equally to subjection, as he is to religion, here; that he may learn the habits of religion and subjection together, to qualify him for the devoutness and the obedience, which will be necessary for his happiness on his translation to Heaven.

In this view of our race, from the steady, the solar light of God's own history; how must we stand amazed at all the theories of government, that were floating like so many motes in the sun's beam,

beam, among the wretched children of Heathenism ! Ignorant of the true origin of Man, as well as of the true nature of God, they fancied in their blindness to facts; that Mankind were born originally in a large society together, when *we* know they were only a single pair; that all *those* were equal in nature and appointment, when *we* know one even of the two to have been made the superior of the other; and that government was therefore the posterious refinement of Man, when *we* know it was the original institution of God. But how much more must we be amazed, at all these theories being adopted by Christians, and the darkness of Heathenism courted in preference to the light of Revelation ! Yet such has been the case, even in *this* illuminated part of Christendom. We are even now so familiarized to the folly, of supposing with the Heathens all government to be founded upon the will of Man, all men to have been originally in a state of independent equality, and all to have agreed at last in erecting, what God had neglected to erect for them, a form of polity; that we consider not a moment the sottishness thus imputed to God, the lie thus given to the history of God, and the contradiction thus made to the most obvious and most general of all incidents in our nature. In the mirror of the Scriptures we see God acting a very different part, a part much more wise in itself, and much more beneficent to Man. We
there

there see him as he is, the Father and the Friend of Man; even in Man's *un-fallen* state providing a government for him, as he had provided for the Angels before; in his very first couple, securing the authority of one by requiring the obedience of the other; and, in their posterity afterwards, binding firmly by the strongest cement in the world, by the very weakness of the infant and the very vigour of the adult, by the very characters of child and parent, the obedience of *that* to *this*. In the mirror of life before us, we equally see Man coming into the world, in the necessary subjection of a child to a parent; we also see Man growing up to maturity in a natural reverence for *him*, to whom (under God) he owes his existence at first, from whom he has received the comforts of nourishment in infancy, and at whose hands he still expects the requisite provision or direction, for his settlement in life. Yet, as if all this was merely a vision, as if the Scripture exhibited no such doctrines to our minds, as if Reality presented no such facts to our eyes; we have seen, and we daily see, speculations advanced concerning government, all supposing it to be founded upon compact, to be wholly a late operation of Man upon earth, to be entirely an improvement (may I write the words without irreverence?)—an improvement upon the bungling plan of GOD. We *may* wonder at the idolatry of the Papist, who, with the commandment
against

against praying to any but GOD directly before his face, still continues to pray to other Beings. But we *must* wonder at Protestants, at those best of Protestants, the members of the Church of England, at men in general professing to try every doctrine by the test of Scripture; fabricating even systems of government, and preaching even principles of obedience, upon conceits purely Heathenish, upon fancies directly opposed by Scripture, and upon surmises contrary to the very transmission of mankind by generation. Man comes into the world, Man has always come, in the obedience of a child to a parent, in the submission of a subject to a Sovereign; and GOD would not suffer even one slight loop-hole of disobedience to escape him, in the mixt, the seemingly equal, authority of husband and wife. He closed up this very loop-hole, by placing the wife below the husband; and then made the children of both subject relatively to both, by the very necessities of their nature. He even added in his *second* code of Revelation expressly, that "there is no power BUT OF GOD, the powers that be ARE ORDAINED OF GOD."^a He thus declared, as with a voice from Heaven, that every power, legal in its commencement, or not encroaching upon any legal right in its continuance, participates in the general appointment

^a 1 Rom. xiii. 1.

of Providence, shares in the general sanctions given by Providence to government, and is entitled in the name of Providence to the general obedience of its subjects.

Nor let us be afraid to confess, that a wrong translation of one passage of Scripture in our *English Bible*, has certainly served to countenance this daring and audacious hypothesis, this erection of the altar of Baal against the altar of Jehovah. We pretend not to infallibility in our church, though we may justly challenge a high degree of perfection for it. We have thus rendered a declaration of St. Peter's, in full violation of his meaning; and have made him speak of government as the Ordinance of Man, when St. Paul expressly mentions it as the Ordinance of GOD, and when St. Peter means to speak in the same strain. "Submit yourselves," says St. Peter in the translation, "to every Ordinance of Man," but, as he says in the original, "to every human creature," *πᾶσιν ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει*. A Human Creature, *ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει*, is not what is created by Man, but what is produced by GOD. St. Peter therefore adds with propriety, this enforcement of all upon the conscience; that his Christians were thus to submit, "for the Lord's sake." And he finally subjoins to all, what can correspond only with this correction; that they were to submit to every human creature for the Lord's sake, "wherever they

“ther it be to the *King* as supreme, or unto *Governors* as unto them that are sent by him.”²

Thus does St. Peter, like St. Paul, make government to be the Institution of GOD, by ordering it to be obeyed for the sake of GOD; and only distinguishes the governors as the human deputies of GOD, into the Sovereign or the supreme over all, and into his Substitutes or those who preside over parts under him.

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Never indeed, in all the possibilities of nature, *can* government be founded on the will of Man. That it *was* not originally, is plain from what I have said already upon the infallible warrant of Scripture. That it *cannot ever* be, is equally plain from one decisive train of reasoning.

A government so founded can have only those powers in combination, which each individual of the society possessed in his single person before. This is the extremest flight of authority, to which these Anti-scriptural theorists of government can ever ascend. The authority of all the members in what is called their natural and primary state, unites by delegation to compose an aggregate of authority in the governour. On this principle,

² 1 Peter ii. 13—14.

false in itself, encountered by all history, and annihilated at once by the strong rebuff of Scripture; the *natural* state of man being apparently one of subjection to parents, and the *primary* in all nations being demonstrated by history, to be equally a state of subjection to rulers; has our own Constitution, have the Constitutions of all the earth, been averred to be built upon the will of the people, erected by the people's consent, and dissolvable at the dissent of the people again. But on such a principle no government could possibly exist. Every individual in the society must concur, to fabricate it at first; and every individual must unite, to continue it afterwards. Such an union, and such a concurrence, we know to be both impossible in themselves.

They are actually acknowledged to be so, by the very forgers of such fantastical polities. Thus, as says one who is an oracle to the multitude upon this subject, but who, like other oracles, had better have been dumb when he spoke; even LOCKE; "Men being by nature *all free, equal, and independent*, no one can be put out of "THIS ESTATE, and subjected to the political power of another, without his "OWN CONSENT." This falsest of all false positions I have sufficiently refuted already, and therefore LOCKE himself shall now refute it for me. For, in order to *continue* the delusive vision which

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he has thus raised, he instantly speaks in this contradictory strain, and so makes the vision to vanish immediately. "If the consent of the majority," he observes, "shall not in reason be received as the act of the whole, and conclude every individual; nothing, but *the consent of every individual*, can make any thing to be the act of the whole: but SUCH A CONSENT IS NEXT [TO] IMPOSSIBLE TO BE HAD, if we consider the infirmities of health and avocations of business, which, in a number *less* than that of a Commonwealth, will necessarily keep many away from the publick assembly. To which if we add the variety of opinions and contrariety of interests, which unavoidably happen in all collections of men; THE COMING INTO SOCIETY UPON SUCH TERMS, would be—only TO GO OUT AGAIN."^a Our author is thus forced by the suggestions of common-sense, to deny that very consent of every individual to the *continuance* of the government, which he has made absolutely necessary to the *erection* of it; and, to the shame of all consistency, now pronounces it "next [to] impossible to be had." He also pronounces it "next [to] impossible to be had" in the *continuance*, for the *very reasons* that must have *equal efficacy* in the *erection*; because of "THE INFIRMITIES OF HEALTH and AVOCATIONS OF BUSINESS, which—will NECESSARILY keep many

^a Locke's Works II. Treatise of Civil Government B. II. ch. viii. p. 185.

" away

“ away from the publick assembly ;” and because of “ THE VARIETY OF OPINIONS and CONTRARIETY OF INTERESTS, which UNAVOIDABLY HAPPEN in ALL collections of men.” If *those* impediments “ necessarily keep many away from the publick assembly ;” if *these* impediments “ unavoidably happen in all collections of men ;” if both render it “ next [to] impossible,” to have the consent of every individual : then both must act equally in the erection as in the continuance of government, and the consent of every individual is “ next [to] impossible to be had” in *that*, as well as in *this*. Thus is government evidently founded by this Grand Architect of governments, by this Free Mason in the mystery of making polities, upon what is confessed to be next to an impossibility, upon what is obviously to common-sense a positive and absolute impossibility in itself.

Nor can any artificial principle be admitted to operate, for the removal of this impossibility. That a point should be determined by a *plurality* of votes, that the *minority* should yield to the *majority*, or that a *part* should act for the *whole* ; may be and must be allowed in societies, which have a government already, which therefore possess a controuling power over all the members, and can consequently depute some to operate for all, be-

cause all cannot operate for themselves. But in that even level of society, on which these theories suppose government to be built, like the Tower of Babel on the plains of Shinar; deputation must be equally impossible, with operation itself. If the multitude could depute, they could operate. If they cannot operate, neither can they depute. Both acts are equally impossible in their own nature; and all beginning of government is precluded for ever, upon this footing. The first stone in this Tower of Babel can never be laid.

Even if it could, the work could not continue a single minute. The same universality of suffrages, that concurred at first to begin the tower, must be perpetuated through every moment of its existence. If it be not, the government no longer rests upon the will of its constituents. Yet that it cannot be, I need not say myself, and I need not alledge LOCKE for saying. All nature cries aloud through all her moral works, that this is absolutely impossible. Some jarring atom must occur perpetually in the body politic, spread instant mortality through its frame, and reduce it to its primary elements again. Such a shifting scene of governments raised up and pulled down in an instant, would the earth be for ever exhibiting; while man must be without any government at all, prompted by his passions to injure his
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neighbour, stung by his sufferings to destroy himself, the starving, the furious Tyger of the creation.

Even *if* all this could be overcome, *if* the Tower of Babel could be raised to its full height, it would stand a mere monument of ill-directed labour, a mockery of human toil, a memorial of human foolishness. Without the power of PUNISHMENT in governments, no government can ever subsist. Yet how shall the governments acquire the power? The criminal will certainly withdraw his consent at the moment of punishment, if he has conceded it before. He will not permit himself to be whipped, to be thrown into prison, to be reduced into slavery, by an authority derived merely from himself, and now to be exerted in severity over himself. Thus the very power, which Fancy has supposed to be delegated to some for the coercion of all, would burst like a bubble in the hand when it was attempted to be grasped, and carry no power of coercion with it at all.

But, even *if* all these visions should prove realities; *if* the criminal, having given his voice to the creation of a government, should not recall it, when he found the government lifting up her arm to punish him; how, how shall the government ever come by that power, so necessary to her.

her own preservation, THE POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH? This cannot be given to government, by any single individual, or by any combination of individuals. No man has a power over his own life, no man has it over his neighbour's. He therefore cannot give it. He cannot give what he never possessed. And a government, that was armed only with the collective rights of man in an individual state, even *if* such a government *could* be formed, even *if* such a government *could* be continued, by universal consent; could not possibly possess an authority over the lives of its subjects, could not possibly therefore secure its own existence for one instant of time, and must immediately dissolve in its own in-efficiency of powers.

Nay, even LOCKE himself, in his eagerness to frame this sort of modern antiquity, avers and repeats; that, "though the legislative — be the
 "supreme power in every commonwealth, yet
 "it is not nor can possibly be absolutely arbitrary
 "over the *lives*, and" (as he adds) the "*for-*
 "tunes, of the people; *for*," as he reasons expressly, "it being but the joint power of every
 "member of the society, given up to that person
 "or assembly which is legislator, it can be no
 "more than those persons had in a state of na-
 "ture, before they entered into society and gave
 "up to the community; *for*," as he goes on in

his irregular form of reasoning, "nobody can transfer to another more power than he has in himself, and NOBODY HAS AN ABSOLUTE ARBITRARY POWER OVER HIMSELF OR OVER ANY OTHER, TO DESTROY HIS OWN LIFE, OR TAKE AWAY the LIFE OR PROPERTY OF ANOTHER; a man—CANNOT SUBJECT HIMSELF TO THE ARBITRARY POWER OF ANOTHER."² Thus does LOCKE, in the whirl of his bewildered ideas, render the erection of *any* government upon *his own principle* of the people, absolutely impossible by *his own confession*; as a legislature, that cannot exercise an *arbitrary* power over the property or the lives of its subjects, cannot levy one tax upon any of them, or make one law for hanging any of them; as such a legislature therefore can be no legislature at all, because to make laws for punishing its subjects even with death, to take away a part of their property by an assessment of taxes upon the whole, is in truth the very essence of legislation; and as consequently that very "legislative," which LOCKE states at first to be "the *supreme* power in every commonwealth," which as *supreme must* be arbitrary, appears instantly from his own reasons to be *not* supreme, to be indeed nothing at all, to be incapable even of assessing a single farthing upon a single member of the state. Such a dance of fortuitous and

² Treatise B. II. ch. xi. p. 195—196.

contradictory atoms has this Epicurus worked up, for the formation of his ridiculous world! So tenfold more impossible is it, for that jumble of atoms, the people, ever to have danced into a regular creation! Impossibility is superadded to impossibility, to shew us in a still plainer view the horrible deformity of that principle, the derivation of government from the power of the people. No government ever did, no government ever can, subsist upon such a principle; and that mind must be given up to a judicial infatuation, which can examine, and yet retain, a principle so pregnant with absurdity.

Such are the Babels of Confusion, that these framers of government have been building in despite of GOD, with mere slime for mortar! No government can ever be founded but upon the institution of HIM, who formed Man for government, and then framed government for Man. By his appointment did government begin upon earth, in the obedience of the first wife, and in the subjection of the first child. Eve did not become obedient to Adam by compact, and Cain was not subjected to Adam by stipulation. Both were placed inferiour to him, by the same commanding power of GOD,

Nor did the principle terminate with *them*. It was a radical, an innate principle in our nature.

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It therefore became commensurate with our being, in duration. All future wives were equally subjected to future husbands, and all future children were equally placed in obedience to future parents. The obligation of the appointment binds all generations, and the efficacy of the law has been felt in all ages. Mankind are still continued by GOD's own institution of marriage, still come into the world under the controul of parental power, and still grow up under the check of civil authority. The latter is only the former, dilated in its extent, and comprehending a nation instead of a family. We see this unheeded truth very strikingly exemplified, in the history of that only nation on the face of the earth, which we can trace regularly from its first commencement; the single son of Abraham spreading out in a course of generations into twelve families or tribes, all having each their separate ruler, all combined into one nation by their High-priests first, and by their Kings afterward.* The same power which the father of a family possessed, the King of a nation retained of course. This power in the

* Numbers i. 16. "Princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel;" vii. 2. "The Princes of Israel, heads of the houses of their fathers, who were the Princes of the tribes;" Joshua xix. 51. "These are the inheritances, which *Eleazar the Priest*, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel, divided by lot."

father, when he had no civil authority over him, was supreme in itself; and Adam must of necessity have been, at once the Father and the King of his children. He was thus armed by GOD, with the parent's power of punishing any of them; and doubly armed by GOD, as we see in the case of Cain, with the Sovereign's power of putting any of them to death.* Hence all governments, in all ages, have possessed this necessary authority; the property of Cain being posteriour to the dominion of Adam; and GOD's own fabrick of government being supported and buttressed, by GOD's own authority over the property, the liberty, the life of Man.

— III. —

Government then is all divine, divine in its origin, divine in its energies, and claiming obedience from the conscience of Man, in the name of its divine establisher. Nor let us hesitate in a petty scrupulosity of spirit, about the *mode* of government instituted by GOD; and suppose that, though government in the abstract *was* ap-

* Genesis iv. 14. "Behold," says Cain to God, "thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid, and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth, and it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me, any of Adam's children sent out by Adam for the purpose, shall slay me."

pointed

pointed by GOD, yet government in the concrete, government in any one form, was *not* appointed by him. No government *can* be appointed in the abstract. Even GOD himself has not power to do this. Omnipotence itself must be baffled, if it should exercise its power for the production of a *non-entity*. All government appointed must be exhibited in a reality, and substantiated into a form. Such a regimen GOD established upon the earth, in the personal rule of Adam over Eve, in the personal authority of Adam primarily, and of Eve secondarily, over the children of both. MONARCHY therefore is the primary, the natural, the divine form of government for Man. All history accordingly records it, to have been the original form. Nor was that deviation from it, that illegitimate and spurious mode of polity, a COMMONWEALTH, ever obtruded upon the world till a late æra; till Man began to bewilder himself in the mazes of his own imagination about government, and wildly fancy he could improve upon the very models of GOD himself.*

Then

* As a modern republican, even that strangest of all strange phenomena in the moral world, a republican *noble* under a *limited* monarchy, in a wild fit of folly has lately raked up from the fanaticism of the last century, a scriptural objection to monarchy itself; it becomes proper, just to refute it in a note. In 1 Samuel xii. 19. say the Israelites; "we have added "unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a King." This, to such

Then rose republicks. The first that made its appearance in the world, was at Athens. The keen genius of Attica, wanting to try an experiment upon the universal polity of Man, to substitute a creature of its own reason for the fabrication of GOD's wisdom, and to violate the primogenial law of nature in favour of a fantastical theory; took advantage of the death of a self-devoted monarch, and, in a pretended fear of never having so good a monarch again, most

as judge from *sound* and not *sense*, seems like a reprobation of royalty; especially as we find in 1 Samuel viii. 6, that "the thing *displeased* Samuel when they said, Give us a King to judge us, and Samuel prayed unto the Lord." But we soon see the sottishness of the application. "The Lord said unto Samuel," in answer to his prayer, "Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but *they have rejected me*, that I *should not reign over them*" (viii. 7). Accordingly Samuel thus addresses the people: "ye have this day *rejected your God*, who *himself* saved you out of all your adversities and your tribulations; and ye have said unto him, Nay, but set a King over us" (x. 19). Samuel also adds afterwards: "when ye saw that Nahash, the King of the children of Ammon, came against you, ye said unto me, Nay, but a King shall reign over us; *when the Lord your God was your King*" (xii. 12). And the people themselves say thus; "Nay, but we will have a King over us, that we may be like all the nations, and that our King may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles" (viii. 20). The sin therefore was demonstrably, *not* in preferring royalty to a republick, *but* in calling for a human, a visible King, to the rejection of their King invisible and divine.

ungratefully deprived his family of the crown, by venturing upon the bold innovation of erecting a republick. They thus inverted the pyramid of government, made it to stand upon its point, and reared its base in the air. The example however was afterwards followed, by all the states of Greece. They all gave free scope to their fancies, in modelling their governments. They cut them to this form, they carved them to that. But they still reduced them nearer and nearer, to an inefficient simplicity of power. They then considered them, as more or less perfect in their republican nature. Yet they could find none, that would give them the promised happiness. They were wretched under all. The grand principle of all, in supposing the power of government to be originally in the people, in believing the subjects to be virtually the sovereigns, in affirming the servants to be vitally the masters; propositions surely, however familiar to *our* ears at present, calculated only for the meridian of St. Luke's Hospital; *this* precluded all possibility of settlement, changes succeeded to changes, all was distraction, confusion, and misery. Having thrown their little world of society off from that central pin of authority, upon which it had been founded by GOD himself; they could never find a rest for it again. The divine equipoise had been rashly destroyed by the hand of Man, and Man felt his folly in his sufferings. The imputed power of the people
was

was like the water of the ocean, now breaking through all its bounds as the balance of the globe was gone, and now sweeping in an irresistible deluge over the land. Yet, with something like the infatuation of the Jews in receiving their false Messiahs, they still welcomed every pretender to the cause of liberty, still hailed every factious man as a friend, and attached themselves to every reformer as a deliverer. These "declared," says Plutarch himself at a particular period of their Sicilian history, "that the end of their coming" "was to introduce liberty, and depose monarchs ;" "but they did so tyrannize themselves, that the reign" "of the tyrants seemed A GOLDEN AGE, compared with the rule of these deliverers ; which" "made the Sicilians to esteem those more happy" "who had expired in slavery, than they who survived to see SUCH A FREEDOM." Nay, their feelings had been so severely wounded by this popular kind of tyranny, that when Timoleon had recovered their capital from its oppressions, he found the market-place rankly overgrown with grass, horses actually feeding upon it, and the grooms lying upon the ground to attend them ; that he therefore invited the emigrants to come

* Plutarch. Vit. Timol. p. 115. edit. Lond. quarto. 1723.

Θαυνοῦντες ὡς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἦσαν, καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς μοναρχοὺς, χρεῖστον εἶδεν τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὰς ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι συμφοράς, καὶ μακαριότητος δοῦναι μέγιστον τοὺς κατὰ σκληράτης ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ, τῇ παρολίῳ ἢ ἀπολίῳ.

back,

back, and re-inhabit their desolated city; that few however came, "so much," adds the historian in a strain remarkably apposite to modern times, "did they DREAD and ABHOR the very
 " NAME of those COMMUNITIES, and MUNICI-
 " PALITIES, and TRIBUNALS, which had PRO-
 " DUCED THE GREATEST PART OF THEIR TY-
 " RANTS."²

But so prompt is Man to confide in his own reason, and to think it superiour to the reason of GOD, that the Romans afterwards revolted from Kings, like the Greeks, and set up a sort of Grecian republick for themselves. They thus embarked upon the same ocean, and were buffeted by the same tempests. The power, which had created the first révolution, was perpetually called upon to create others. Consuls, Dictators, Plebeian Tribunes, Military Tribunes, or Decemvirs, were successively and interchangeably appointed. The scale of power in the state under all, was continually sinking towards the people; till it touched the very ground at last. It sunk, therefore, loaded more and more with misery to

² Plutarch. Vit. Timol. p. 115. Η μιν εν τυραννοσιν αγωγη δι' ερημιας ουλη πολλην και βαθια εξεφυσεν υλην, ωστε τους ιπποους εν αυτη κατακειμεσθαι, των ιπποκομων εν τη χλη ανακειμενων. -- -- -- ουδε κατεβαινον εις την πολιν, αλλα φρικη και μισος ενχε παύλας, αγοράς και πολιειας και Βημαίος, εξ ων ανιφυσαν αυτους οι ωλεσθεις των τυραννων.

them.

them. They became the dupes of ambitious men, enlisted as partisans in their pursuits, and engaged as champions in their contests; were embarrassed with seditions, scourged with rebellions, and racked with revolutions. At the last of these revolutions, LUCAN describes one of the personages in his poetical history, bursting out with all the agony of feeling for his wretched country; and exclaiming with *envy* at the *happiness, of the most absolute monarchies on the earth.*

Felices Arabes, Medique, Eoaque tellus,
Quam sub perpetuis tenuerunt Fata tyrannis!

How blest the Arabs, Medes, and Eastern states,
Kept in perpetual bondage by the Fates!

The very Tribunes of the People, those humble advocates of the commonalty, who originally sat at the door of the Senate without, rose into such authority from the growing ascendancy of the commons; that they at last engrossed the whole government to themselves. Even Cæsar, in the plenitude of his power, thought it still deficient; till he had annexed this office to his person, for life.^b Even Augustus, even all the emperours after him, took care to retain this office firmly in

^a Civ. Bell. vii. 442---443.

^b Dio xlii. 20. p. 317. Reimar. τῆς τε ἐξουσίας τῆς δυνάμεως δια βίου, ὡς πᾶσι, προσέδωκεν.

their

their own hands; and exerted an absolute sway principally by the power of an office, which had been aggrandized into tyrannical pre-eminence, by the sottishness of a self-deluded populace.* Such is the bias hung upon our minds by GOD towards that frame of government, which he appointed himself as best adapted to our nature, and which he has therefore made to result from the very fabrication of it; that, within *thirteen* years only after the expulsion of their Kings, the Romans had a temporary recourse to one of them again in the creation of a Dictator, had repeated recourse afterwards, even created an *Interrex* at times, and at last saw the petty Tribune of the populace, domineering on a throne of arbitrary Royalty over all. So justly did they fall into tyranny, by their own eagerness for republicanism!

All this, however, did not prevent a renewal of the experiment, and a re-erection of a commonwealth, within our own country. When the

* Dio liii. 17. p. 712. speaking primarily of Augustus, but in language referring to all his successors, τῶν δὲ δὲ ἀρχῶν τῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν πᾶσαν, ὅσην περὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἔχουσιν, προσήδωκεν. Tacitus Ann. iii. 56. "Potestatem Tribunitiam summi fastigii" "*vocabulum* Augustus repperit." Vopiscus in Tacitus Imp. c. i. p. 899--900 Hist. Aug. Script. Leyden 1661. "Erant" "Tribuni Plebis cum Tribunitiâ potestate, quæ *pars maxima*" "*regalis imperii est.*"

new diffusion of literature had unlocked the stores of Greece and Italy again, to the generality of our English gentlemen; and when the spirit of speculation began to dwell with undistinguishing fondness, upon all their history; a new fever of republicanism was excited in the minds of many, and the inflammation broke out in the establishment of a Commonwealth. The great mass of the nation, as far as we can judge of national masses upon such occasions, was averse to a republick and attached to a monarchy. But the patrons of liberty and the leaders of rebellion, whatever they may say in order to become leaders and patrons, never think of majorities when they can secure power, and never cast one eye back upon the people, by whom they have been raised into authority. Thus formed, our English Commonwealth appeared like the shifting sands of Africa, sometimes rolling *this* way before the winds, sometimes *that*; now presenting new hills and unknown mountains, then spreading out a level plain in the place of them, but threatening every moment to bury the nation under all. Such is the instability eternally annexed to governments, in proportion as they are founded on the ignorance, the folly, and the passions of the populace. Ours soon ended in that natural termination of all republicks, a Royalty; which was usurped by one of the gloomiest patrons of liberty, one of the most ferocious champions
against

against Royalty; which exchanged a CHARLES for a CROMWELL, the best of men and best of kings for a hypocrite, and a regicide, and placed a Maltster of Huntingdon on the throne, instead of the descendant of a hundred sovereigns. And all briefly concluded, in the general return of the nation to its ancient monarchy, in a sudden flight

From off the tossing of those fiery waves,
and in a hasty removal to solid ground again.

A republick indeed bears generally three signatures of its own illegitimacy, upon its forehead. A King possesses a crown as an inheritance, it is a family-estate to him, he is to transmit it to his son, and he can have no interest superiour to what he has in his kingdom. But a republick opens the gate to general avarice, by calling up men into government from the lower ranks of life, by presenting temptations to their selfishness superiour to their stake in the society, and so inviting an universal scramble of speculation. We see this reasoning dreadfully drawn out into reality, in our own commonwealth. Then, at the very entrance into power, so very early as 1642, the republican *remnant* of our two Houses of Parliament, being less than a *sixth* of the Commons, and less than a *fifth* of the Peers, in direct opposition to all the rest, in direct opposition to the

very king himself; boldly pretending to represent the whole kingdom in their own persons, violently venturing to arrogate the whole legislation to themselves, and impudently presuming thus to make a part, a flight part, a mere atom, equal to the vast whole; did empower four persons selected by themselves, to *estimate every man's fortune* in the cities of London and Westminster *at whatever value they pleased*, to levy upon it *any sum they pleased* within a certain proportion of their own arbitrary valuation, upon non-payment to make distress upon the estate, even (if necessary) by the trained bands; for want of sufficient distress to discover, compound, and discharge all debts due to the owners; for want of sufficient debts discovered, to imprison the owners in *any place* and for *any time they pleased*, and to *banish their very wives and children*, to an *undefined* distance from London. These four tyrants for liberty were thus licensed, to pillage and to plunder as much as ever they would; only being tied up with care, from assessing any fortunes that belonged to their own party in the Parliament; and being with equal care made unaccountable to all law, all equity, all authority, except only this party of their own.* In consequence of such measures

* Clarendon II. part i. 99—101. edit. octavo, 1731.

“ Those persons, or any four of them,—should have power

“ to assess all persons of ability who had *not* contributed, and

“ also

measures as these, which show us the highest effrontery of oppressiveness amid the grossest hypocrisy

“also those who *had* contributed yet not according to their ability, to pay such sums of money according to their estates, as the assessors, or any four of them, should think reasonable, so as the same exceeded not the twentieth part of their estates; —and, if any person so assessed should refuse to pay the money so assessed upon him, it should be lawful for the assessors—to levy that sum by way of distress, and sale of the goods of the persons so refusing. And, if any person distrained should make resistance, it should be lawful for the assessors—to call to their assistance any of the Trained Bands of London.— If no sufficient distress could be found,—the collectors should have power to enquire of any sum of money due to those persons so assessed—, to receive all such debts—, and to compound for any rents, goods, or debts, due to such persons so assessed—. And, if the money assessed could not be levied by any of these ways, then the persons assessed should be imprisoned in such places of the kingdom, and for so long a time, as the Committee—should appoint and order; and the families of all such persons so imprisoned, should no longer remain within the cities of London or Westminster, the suburbs, or the counties adjacent.” But as “all assessors and officers should have the protection of both Houses of Parliament on that service, so themselves, the members of either House, should not be assessed by any but members.” Well might the worthy Monarch address the nation, in that pointed, spirited, and irresistible Declaration upon it (p. 101—107). I can only stay to cite two or three sentences. “If there could be yet,” says the King, “any understanding so unskilful and supine to believe, that these disturbers of the publick peace do intend any thing but a General Confusion; they have brought them a sad argument to their own doors, to convince them. After this Ordinance and Declara-

2

tion,

pocriſy of freedom; this commonwealth, it has been found upon calculation, coſt the nation more money in the taxes, levies, and peculations of only ten or twelve years, than had been aſſeſſed by all our kings combined, in all the fix hundred years from the Conqueſt before.^a

But there is a ſecond feature in the complexion of a republick, ſtill more prominent; the ingra-

*“tion, it is not in any ſober man’s power to believe himſelf to
“be worth any thing, or that there is ſuch a thing as Law,
“Liberty, or Property left in England, under the jurisdiction
“of theſe men. And the ſame power that robs them now of
“the twentieth part of their eſtates, hath by that but made a
“claim and intitled itſelf to the other nineteen, when it ſhall
“be thought fit to haſten the general ruin. Sure, if the
“minds of all men be not ſtubbornly prepared for ſervitude,
“they will look on this Ordinance, as the greateſt prodigy of
“arbitrary power and tyranny, that any age hath brought forth
“in any kingdom” (p. 102). “But our good ſubjects will
“no longer look upon theſe and the like reſults, as upon the
“counſels and concluſions of Both our Houſes of Parliament,
“—They well know, how few of the perſons truſted by them
“are truſted at their conſultations; of above five hundred of
“the Commons, not fourſcore; and, of the Houſe of Peers,
“not above a fifth part” (p. 106).*

^a So directly in the face of fact did Milton talk, when he noticed the *frugality* of a republican government, when he ſaid the *very trappings* of royalty would ſet up an ordinary commonwealth! Poor man! He knew not the hiſtory of his own commonwealth. He knew not, that it had been expensive to the nation, beyond all the expenſiveness of royalty for ſix ages before.

titude

itude which runs through all its conduct, and disgraces all its annals. This is particularly apparent, in the agitated histories of Rome and Athens. Scarcely one man rose up in either, to maintain the cause of his country, to give it success over its enemies, and to carry its triumphs into other countries; but he soon became envied, hated, and dreaded among the people. With the ever-ready malignity of the mean against the great, the people soon began to asperse their deliverer, to insult their champion, and to charge ambitious views upon their hero. Standing themselves at the very feet of society, yet finding themselves in possession of power, they were continually at work in the low jealousy of their spirits, to prevent any from rising too much above them, to save themselves from being too much depressed by a superiority of virtues in any, and to guard against the too great aggrandizement of any, even from high favours received by themselves. This we know to have been the treatment, which Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, Cimon, Alcibiades, Conon, and Timotheus, received at Athens; which Coriolanus, Camillus, and the two Scipios, Metellus, Cicero, and others, equally received at Rome. A King *may* patronize merit, but a populace in power never will. A King *may* be grateful, but a populace in power never was. The very people whom those heroes had saved, proved greater enemies

enemies than the foes whom they had conquered for them ; and republican ingratitude is written in large letters of brass, upon the republican histories of Rome and Athens. Even CICERO himself, who was at one time so wild a republican as to aver, that “ neither Gods nor Men would “ suffer a king to reign hereafter in Rome ;”^a at a time too, when both Men and Gods were combining to place one there ; has delivered the same sentiment concerning republican ingratitude, his feelings lending a spur to his sagacity, and his experience of popular tyranny beating down his fondness for popular government. The Ephesians, who were a colony and commonwealth of Greeks in Asia, “ expelled Hermo-
 “ dorus,” he tells us, “ with this declaration ;
 “ *Let no one of us excell others, but, if any shall, let*
 “ *him migrate to another place, and reside among*
 “ *other persons.*” The Ephesians thus spoke the very sentiments of all republicans, and CICERO himself applies the language accordingly to all.
 “ Is not this equally the case,” he cries out, “ in
 “ all popular governments? Have not they shown
 “ their spite, against all pre-eminence of virtue?
 “ What? Was not Aristides (as I would rather
 “ produce examples out of the Græcian history,
 “ than our own) was not he banished from his
 “ country for this very reason, that he was beyond

^a De Divin. II. 54. “ Regem---Romæ posthæc nec Dii nec
 “ Homines esse patiantur.”

“ the

"the ordinary standard just?"^a The very virtue, which should have recommended him with peculiar energy to his countrymen, and has recommended him to a distinguished niche in the temple of history; was the very ground of his banishment with the degrading envy of republicans, who could not endure to hear so often of the *just*, the *just* Aristides. Nor let us flatter ourselves with the fancy, that such a principle was never avowed, and such a practice was never shown, in modern times. The very state of Geneva, as newly modelled by the hands, and newly impregnated with the spirit, of revolutionary republicanism; has just now sentenced to death, or condemned to exile, "all who, being endowed
 "with mental energy, talents, and character,
 "may form a plan to deliver themselves" from
 "the power over them."^b

Yet there is one more signature of a commonwealth. A court has always been an instrument

^a Tusc. Quæst. v. 36. "Cum civitate expellerent Hermodorum, ita locuti sunt; *Nemo de nobis unus excellat, sit quis extiterit, alio in loco et apud alios sit.* An hoc non ita fit omni in populo? Nonne omnem exsuperantiam virtutis oderint? Quid? Aristides (malo enim Græcorum quam nostra proferre) nonne ob eam causam expulsus sit patria, quod præter modum justus esset?"

^b In August 1794.

of polishing a nation, introducing a softer refinement of civility into the higher ranks of life, and so spreading a smoother gloss of manners successively through all. But a republick has just a contrary effect. A surly self-confidence of mind, appears to be the grand characteristick of a republican. Conceited of his natural rights as a Man, conceited of his particular privileges as a Commonwealth's man, he becomes in his own imagination a little Sovereign, "he alone the King of him,"^a and the Lord of all around him. The spirit of liberty in general is the essence of tyranny itself, being liberty only as it operates upward, and being rank tyranny as it operates downward. The bravoës of liberty, therefore, have in all ages proved the worst of tyrants. And experience shows us in the humbler annals of domestick life, that the unkindest brother, the sternest husband, the most imperious wife, and the most despotic father, is commonly a violent partisan for liberty. But when this tyrannical genius of liberty comes to actuate the populace, it works up such a ferment of sulky ferociousness, from the habits of their minds and from the contagion of their numbers; as brutalizes the soul, and barbarizes the conduct.

Yet, after all, the experiment of a republick has been once more made before our own eyes,

“I alone am King of me.” *Dryden.*

in

in FRANCE; and with such a train of consequences attending it, as completes the history of republicanism, effaces all the signatures of republican extravagance before, and leaves human folly, or human viciousness, no scope of operation beyond.

France, while it continued a Kingdom, was always the first of the nations of Europe in arts and in arms. The long contests, that have been maintained between the French and us, may make us unwilling to allow this. But let us be peculiarly just to a fallen foe. For fallen he now is completely. France *once* was the grand medium, through which all the refinements of the continent were transmitted to us. To her we owe our learning, our civility, even our Christianity. She stood therefore as the conveyer of all good to us. Even now she stands un-intentionally, unwillingly, as a kind friend, as a warner to our fears, as a caller upon our wisdom.

The modes of procedure in the Providence of GOD, are *said* to be dark and mysterious, perplexed with mazes, and entangled in labyrinths, to the human eye. So they often are. But often also they lie very plain before us, the course runs open, broad, and straight before our eyes, and we can trace the line from its end up to its beginning. This is the case as to France, at present.

She encouraged the spirit of republican liberty in America, against us. She did this upon one of those principles, which nations may excuse or vindicate; but which, to individuals of common sense and common honesty, must appear truly paltry indeed, an infraction upon all that binds Man to Man, a violation of all that GOD has ordered to bind man to himself. But "*where-
withal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be
punished.*"^a Such is the useful procedure of Providence to Man! That very spirit of liberty, thus encouraged by France, has in the *visible* dispensations of GOD proved her punishment. The republican genius of America came into France, with her returning soldiery; all sick with the contagion of the former country, and all spreading the contagion of sickness through the latter. France had hitherto been glorying, in obedience to her "Grand Monarque;" had summoned all the virtues, all the vices, of a lively, gallant, ambitious people, to stand around his throne, and to glitter there like so many planets, attending upon the Sun in the center. But France now altered its tone of thinking; directed

^a Wisdom xi. 16. So likewise says the Book of Proverbs xxii. 8. "He that seweth iniquity, shall reap vanity; and "the rod of his anger shall fail;" and v. 22. "His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden "with the cords of his sins."

its vices and its virtues, to move in another course; thus made the planets to desert the Sun, and to combine around that mere meteor of society, a republick.

Yet, in the whole of this astonishing revolution, one deep and dismal shade of sanguinary ferociousness has prevailed. Liberty has appeared with her wildest brutality of blood. In her *first* ebullitions of barbarity; *before* that cause began to operate, which folly has dared to produce in extenuation of iniquity; *before* any opposition from without *could* compress the spirit of violence within, even if it *ever* did, into acts of savageness; she cut off the heads of a Father and a Son in Law, she bore their heads in a mean triumph upon poles through the streets, and made the heads to kiss each other in a malignant mockery of all affection. In her *second*, under a paroxysm of cowardly maliciousness that has no parallel in the annals of human baseness, she broke into all the numerous prisons, and murdered all the numerous prisoners; amongst the rest cut off the head of a Princess, stuck it upon a pole, and called upon the captive King to view it from the windows of his dungeon. And, in her *third*, she murdered the King, she murdered the Queen; treated their persons in life with all the indignities, that the most vulgar of the mob could suggest; and treated their bodies after death with all the
insults,

insults, that the most abject of the mob could execute. Liberty has thus outdone in baseness and barbarity among the French, the most horrible proscriptions of Greece and Rome; all, all indeed, that any fears, any hopes, any fermentations in the soul of Man, have ever produced upon the face of the earth.

Nor is the reason for this high pre-eminence of ferociousness, less apparent to the philosophick eye; than the ferociousness itself is, to the historical. In proportion as the French imbibed the spirit of Liberty, they threw off the restraints of Religion; they burst asunder the bonds, that tied them to their Holy Faith; and broke out into rebellion against their GOD, as well as against their King. They first robbed the Clergy of their possessions in lands and tithes, reducing them into mere pensionaries to the government; then persecuted all, who would not swear to the *maintenance* of this sweeping sacrilege upon *themselves*; threw them into jail, murdered them in form, or (what was still worse) sunk them by numbers in boats upon the rivers, in ships upon the seas, or sent them in gangs of convicts to the only colony, which they had in a pestilential climate. Nor did they stop here. They had contrived to find out men among the clergy, who would accept their preferments upon their own terms. The rites of Christianity were thus continued in the churches
of

of France, and obedience to the Gospel was still professed by the great body of the nation. But the spirit of liberty had not yet proceeded, to its full extent. It soon took its natural course, from robbing the Clergy to renouncing the Gospel. It formally threw off in a burst of effrontery, the whole system of Christianity. It even produced such an example of professed Infidelity among the clergy, the *complying* clergy, as had never disgraced the Order in all the ages of persecution before; an Archbishop of Paris coming to the bar of their National Assembly, and there, while the pillars of the hall of the assembly must surely have trembled over his head, renouncing his Order, renouncing his Religion, renouncing his Redeemer. Nor did the rage of impiety end, even here. The blazing comet had now broke loose, from all the laws of its previously irregular movements; now rambled away with its flames, to the extremity of the creation; and so set fire to the whole frame of the Heavens, at last. The very existence of the soul after death, was solemnly disclaimed by the National Assembly; the very Being of GOD, was solemnly denied by it; and that *Death is an Eternal Rest*, was solemnly ordered to be inscribed upon the gates of every church-yard in the country. We thus survey the whole train of impieties, from the beginning to the end. What commenced in Liberty,

Liberty, went on in Infidelity, and concluded in Atheism.

We have now beheld LIBERTY marching across the realm of France, in the guise and attitudes of an ancient Fury; her dagger died with blood up to the very hilts, her robe trailing in a stream of blood, and her teeth savagely gnawing the heart of a Noble. Close behind her we have seen REPUBLICANISM, that Caliban of Man's own creation, stalking with a grin of ghastly satisfaction over a murdered King, a murdered Queen, a murdered Princess the sister of both; and fixing its *throne of equality* forsooth! upon myriads of butchered subjects. We have seen INFIDELITY coming behind them, advancing at first with the mask of Protestantism upon his face, then changing it for the mask of General Toleration and Equal Encouragement, but finally casting off both with the impudence of confessed hypocrisy, showing his own features in their full deformity to the eye, scaring all Christendom with the frightful view, and, while Angels looked down undoubtedly with horror, stamping with his cloven foot upon the Cross of Christ. At the close of all we have seen even ATHEISM, that twin-brother to Infidelity, still more a monster in form than Infidelity itself, rearing his forehead scarred with the thunders of Heaven, yet madly rearing it as in defiance

3

defiance of them, but, on hearing them begin to mutter, shrinking away from view, and hiding himself again under the garments of Infidelity; ready to come forth a second time from them, and a second time blast the face of the creation with his appearance. We have seen all these figures moving before us, as in a magick lanthorn. Infidelity is now enthroned with Liberty on her right hand and Republicanism on her left, in the very center of Christendom, in what used to be denominated the *Most Christian* region of the whole; has there set up the Reason of Idiocy, in opposition to the Illuminated Good-sense of the Gospel; so turning its back upon the very Sun itself, and bowing its face to a farthing-candle. We thus have a horrible spectacle before us, such as never met the eye of Heaven before; a whole nation of Christians apostatizing from Christianity at once, recoiling from the faith of the Gospel, and revolting back to something worse than its ancient Heathenism. Yet even that spectacle has been deepened in sadness of horror to us, by seeing these Renegadoes of Christianity led, whether such a light of idiocy was sure to lead them, into the very abyfs, the very *Tartarus*, of Atheism. Once openly professed, this is still predominant, I believe; still stripping GOD's temples of every symbol of worship; still depriving them of all Priests and Prayers; still using them only as Halls, for harangues in favour of Liberty, or for hymns

in honour of Republicanism ; and even inscribing still upon the gates of the church-yards, that *Death is an Eternal Rest.*

But amidst convulsions so dreadful to every soul, which trembles for the salvation of Man, and glows for the honour of GOD; we have one strong consolation, radiating brightly to us through the whole ; that we see the hand of GOD displayed in awful retributions of his Providence, to all the successive perpetrators of these enormities. The *first* man, who was sent by the King to fight against us in America, became *the very prisoner of the King* afterwards; but was speedily compelled by the mob which he had headed, to flee for his life, because he would not go to greater extremities with them; so fell into the hands of those who were friends to the imprisoned King, was thrown by them into prison himself, and has there survived to hear the accursed, but sure, consequences of his own conduct. The very man, who afterwards had the astonishing audacity, as Secretary of State to the King, to sign a warrant for bringing back the King as a criminal, when he had fled from his prison for safety; was soon thrown into prison himself by the mob whom he had thus gratified, was then murdered by it, and all the wealth which he had amassed in the scramble, but which he carried about him for greater security, was thus seized more conveniently by his
his

his murderers. The generals too, who had given up their loyalty as subjects, their honour as officers, and their oaths as Christians, to these triumphant rebels of liberty, to act under them, to fight for them, and to encourage the young spirit of rebellion in the army, by their own practices, their own admonitions; all fell speedily into suspicions of perfidy with those, *for* whom they had been perfidious to their King; all were forced to flee, or were murdered on a scaffold, by the very persons whose cause they had so perfidiously promoted, and *as* men perfidious to this very cause. The Ministers of State also, who signed the warrant for the King's murder, in a few months were all, all murdered, either by the vile hands of their accomplices in the royal murder, or by—their own. Even the leaders in the first Constitution formed on the principles of liberty, were murdered by men still more wild than themselves with the *furor* of liberty. The framers of the second were again murdered, by the projectors of a third. These again were all but one murdered, by a party of themselves that projected *no* fourth, but quarrelled only about a share in the spoils. Even while I am writing this account, that one has been murdered by his own partisans, no longer stooping to act in subordination to him, but cutting their way through him to that *republican* royalty, which he had usurped for himself. And, by an effort of Providence to be admired,

to be applauded, by all the sons and daughters of Christianity, that very Arch-bishop of Paris, who had come forward with such astonishing impiety, to renounce his Order, his Religion, and his Redeemer; was soon seized, imprisoned, condemned, and murdered, as a traitor to the very cause for which he had made such diabolical sacrifices. "Hear, O ye Heavens, and give ear, "O Earth!" They who deserted from GOD to Man, for a poor temporary accommodation; found themselves disappointed entirely in this very view, felt the hand of GOD pursuing them in their infamous revolt, and found the very men to whom they revolted compelled by GOD to destroy them.

Yet from these speculations, however just, however consolatory, are we called away to provide tremblingly for our own safety. The world has never yet beheld such a monstrous transformation, as has been now produced in France; a nation, the most polished and the most courteous in all Europe, turned suddenly by the Circèan cup of Liberty into a herd of wild beasts, running mad after they know not what, and tearing one another in pieces they know not why. But, was even this all, we could contemplate the frightful vision before us with more composure, view the destruction mutually dealt around with calmer commiseration, and with only for the sake of Humanity, for the sake of Christianity, they might soon

soon be brought to their senses by their sufferings. *We* alas! *we* feel ourselves very nearly concerned in *their* extravagances. Not content with trying their experiment of a republick, with all that flagitious cruelty to Man, and with all this enormous impudence to GOD; they resolved to make the nations around them, as cruel and as impudent as themselves. They therefore set up their own stupid principles of nature, to violate all the principles of national property, to level all the barriers of national faith, to tear down all the pillars of national obedience; to make

“ One spirit of the first-born Cain
“ Reign in all bosoms;”

and to sweep away the religion of the Gospel, the very worship of GOD, from the face of all the earth. They thus offended the nations around them, by assailing them in their religion first, and by afterwards attacking them in what, amidst the present coldness for religion, is still dearer to them, their peace and prosperity. Nor did they stop at offences. They actually invaded four countries, declared war against several others, and threatened to involve all their neighbours in their own confusions, their own destruction of one another, their own conspiracy against GOD. They are thus become, a horde of Tartars breaking out from the wilds of Scythia; Tartars in a barbarian's

rian's ferociousness of spirit, in a barbarian's disdain of treaties, in a barbarian's defiance of dangers, and in a barbarian's ostentation of bravery; but ten times more formidable than any Tartars ever were, by their knowledge of all the arts of life, by their acquaintance with all the laws of tactics, and by their familiarity with all the practices of engineering. A refined nation reduced into barbarism by some prevailing venom, unites at once all the martial violence of nature, and all the military discipline of art, together. The Anti-christian, the Atheistical republicans of France, are thus acting at present; equalling the nations that they have obliged to engage them, in all the science of war; excelling them in the national masses of men, which, like true Tartars, they bring into the field; and, if we of this nation had not been forced by them to come into the contest, *sure*, we may say, to have thrown the whole circuit of the nations around them, perhaps the whole continent of Europe, into the most frightful convulsions of Liberty, Republicanism, Infidelity, and Atheism.

For that reason, they have appeared peculiarly incensed against us at times. Those lions have roared from their dens, bit the bars that confined them, and lashed their sides with their tails, in their rage against us. However they have prevailed

vailed frequently over our associates in the contest, yet *we* ourselves, acting by ourselves, have almost uniformly prevailed over *them*. We have indeed been blest, with singular advantages over them. And we are likely, for our interposition in the war, however compelled for our own safety this interposition was at first; yet warm as we were with zeal, for our Constitution in church and state, for our religion of the Gospel, and for the honour of our GOD; to be placed by GOD in that pre-eminence of power and glory, which France once possessed but has now forfeited; in more indeed than that pre-eminence, in the very sovereignty of commerce, in the very empire of arts and arms.

May we so act, as to be worthy of such blessings! May we survey with a salutary terror that Volcano of Liberty, which has thus broke out in the center of France, and which at times threatens to shake the whole globe into atoms! May we cling the closer for it to our glorious Constitution, to our Heaven-descended religion, to our Redeemer and our GOD! May we stand firm in the honourable post, in which GOD has kindly placed us half against our wills; persist with resolution in the work, of fighting his battles against that Anti-christ; and persevere in warring together with him, against this Atheism! And

may

may HE, who spoke the chaos of the world into order at first, soon speak this chaos of stubborn elements in France into peace; for the sake of that country, for the sake of our own, and for the sake of all the world!



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

AS two very extraordinary pamphlets have been lately published by the Count de Montgaillard, laying open the interiors of the French republicanism, with a pencil equally free, lively, and new; confirming in many points the observations that I have here made, and terminating in the same general conclusion; I shall subjoin some extracts from them. Having not however the French originals before me, I must take these extracts from the English translations; though that of the Count's first pamphlet is branded by himself in his preface to the second, as a "treacherous" translation, the author of which "does not understand, or wilfully mis-takes, the French language."*

MISERY and WICKEDNESS of FRANCE.

"This indefatigable diligence," says the Count's State of France in May 1794, "of a tyranny the most atrocious, but which they call the *Police Generale*, reaches without distinction to all ranks and individuals. The *members of the Convention* are more exposed to it, than the other citizens; none of their proceed-

* The first is translated by one Joshua Lucock Wilkinson of Gray's-Inn.

" ings are unknown; *their actions and discourses are*
 " *watched by an invisible spy, who never leaves them.* The
 " *pretexts of a continual conspiracy against the people,*
 " *excuse all the violence and domiciliary visits, that*
 " *torment, without a moment's ease, both the towns and*
 " *the country.* There is *not a single man, be he Deputy,*
 " *Administrator, Agent, or simple citizen, who can*
 " *assure himself of un-disturbed repose, and who sees the*
 " *night fall without fear.* There is *not a cottage in*
 " *France, where poverty can forbid the approach of the*
 " *Denouncer or the Requisitionary; and HUMAN SUB-*
 " *TILITY, TILL NOW, FAILED OF ALARMING THE*
 " *IMAGINATION, AND PERPETUATING TERROR.*"*

" *Leather, soap, and tallow totally fail; and with the*
 " *greatest difficulty does the individual, of the class of the*
 " *people, procure a small portion of these objects of pri-*
 " *mary necessity.* In many districts, and even at Paris,
 " *linen is washed with a preparation of chalk and grease.*
 " *Persons in the most easy condition are forced to wear sa-*
 " *bots*" or wooden shoes, " *and send their shoes to the*
 " *armies.* In some parts of the republic, they have
 " *put into a state of requisition, the wool upon which man*
 " *sleeps, and the linen which covers his body.* There was a
 " *time, when this measure was near becoming general*
 " *throughout France.* The people are *every where*
 " *plunged into the most deplorable misery.* Butter, salted
 " *provisions, and roots, are all taken from them, and put*
 " *into requisition for the benefit of the republic.* And
 " *to it they are forced to deliver, upon the first demand*
 " *of a Commissary or Administrator, the very provisions*
 " *necessary to subsistence; and for the very animal, whose*

“ weight is inserted in the registry, they make him ac-
 “ countable. Oil, beer, and brandy become daily more
 “ scarce; and the forage and oats are demanded before the
 “ harvest. Personal *Corvées*,” those asserted badges of sla-
 very under the Kings, which were therefore abolished by
 the Constituent Assembly, now “ are every where imposed”
 again. “ The farmers and labourers are daily employed
 “ with their carts, to transport the forage, &c. to the
 “ distance of fifty leagues; and dare not demand their re-
 “ ward. If any one refuses or objects, he is dragged to
 “ prison; the father is obliged to denounce his own son,
 “ and prosecute him, though in requisition; whoever
 “ flies or conceals himself, is reputed emigrant, and his
 “ family soon sees his property sequestered. DESPAIR IS
 “ GENERAL, but TERROR PREVENTS ITS BREAKING
 “ OUT.”*

“ TWENTY-TWO THOUSAND PERSONS fill the prisons
 “ of Paris, or are guarded in their own houses. SIX
 “ HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE THOUSAND were de-
 “ tained in the Departments, at the epoch of the 26th of
 “ April; and this number has been augmented by all the
 “ members of the nobility, whom the decrees of that
 “ moment forced to leave Paris, the fortified places,
 “ and the maritime cities, and to present themselves
 “ every day to the municipality of the place, where
 “ they were permitted to fix their residence. THREE
 “ HUNDRED PERSONS perish DAILY ON THE SCAFFOLD,
 “ throughout the extent of France. The difficulty of
 “ escaping provokes suicide, and this is now become so
 “ common, it is scarcely noticed. Plunder, chagrin, and
 “ all the consequent evils, assist to depopulate the country.

* Page 34—35.

“ Upon the calculation of all these causes, joined to
 “ the civil and foreign war, FRANCE HAS LOST
 “ TWELVE OR THIRTEEN HUNDRED THOUSAND
 “ MEN.” *

Robespierre “ *composed with Hebert upon Atheism,*
 “ destroyed with Gobet,” the ever-infamous Archbi-
 shop of Paris, “ *every trace of Catholicism*” or *Chri-
 stianity*; “ and, with Camille Desmoulins, he cherished
 “ the virtues of clemency; and them he again con-
 “ signed to punishment;—reserving to himself the right,
 “ of *imposing a religion upon France.*” † “ The plun-
 “ der of the churches” was so general and so rigorous,
 that, “ through the whole extent of France, *no longer*
 “ *now remains a sacred vase, not even in the domestic*
 “ *chapels.* The last eight months THE CHURCHES OF
 “ PARIS have been ALL SHUT, and in the provinces
 “ ALMOST ALL SUCCESSIVELY.” ‡ “ The orgies,
 “ which have sprung from the *abolition* of the Catholic”
 or Christian “ worship, SURPASS EVERY THING that
 “ THE HUMAN MIND CAN IMAGINE, of PERVERSITY,
 “ CORRUPTION, and ATROCITY.” § “ In a moment
 “ it [the city of Paris] was changed, as it were, to a
 “ vast theatre, in which *every duty and virtue*, that re-
 “ ligious and morality had imposed, *was abandoned to an*
 “ *unbridled Populace.* The churches were stripped, and
 “ *every thing most sacred given up to the riotous and blas-*
 “ *phemous outrages*, of those dregs of society which, for
 “ these last five years, have been pouring into the capital
 “ of France from different nations. Graves were vio-
 “ lated, the ashes of the dead torn out, and death itself
 “ was no longer an asylum from the passions and wick-

* P. 43. † P. 11. ‡ P. 38, 39. § P. 57.

“ edness of mankind. The relicks of *martyrs*, sacred
 “ from the long veneration of the faithful, were *muti-*
 “ *lated at their altars.* The EMBLEMS OF CHRISTIA-
 “ NITY WERE DRAWN UPON HURDLES, and the very
 “ image of GOD HIMSELF impiously COMMITTED
 “ TO THE AXE OF THE EXECUTIONER. The *meanest*
 “ *animals* were covered, with the *robes* and *decorations*
 “ of his *sacred ministers*; and the *most licentious songs* in-
 “ sulted publicly, the *celebration* of his *holy mysteries.*
 “ Magistrates, by their presence, *set the seal of the law*
 “ to these *Saturnalia*; in which the *howling of these canni-*
 “ *bals* terrified even their own leaders. This band of ty-
 “ gers proceeded afterwards to the Convention. They
 “ were *received into its bosom*, their abominable triumph
 “ *recorded on its journals*, and their *booty swallowed up by*
 “ *its Committees.* Nine days such as these, which ARE
 “ NOT TO BE FOUND IN THE ANNALS OF ANY AGE
 “ OR COUNTRY, were *purchased* by 1,550,000” livres,
 given as hire to the mob. “ In a moment France was
 “ filled with men, that *every where arraigned* the DEITY,
 “ and endeavoured to bring into disrepute ALL FORMS
 “ OF WORSHIP. The *destruction* of the churches, was
 “ a necessary consequence of their profanation. It was
 “ *permitted* in some of the districts, and *directed* in
 “ others. Interest became the accomplice of impiety,
 “ and NOBODY RETAINED THE LIBERTY OF PUB-
 “ LIC WORSHIP. TO ABANDON it was NECESS-
 “ SARY in those days of mourning and desolation, IN
 “ ORDER TO AVOID PROSCRIPTION.”* “ On the
 “ *burying-ground* in *Paris*, and many districts of the re-
 “ public, this inscription has been put up,

HERE SLEEP IS ETERNAL.

* Continuation, (translated by M. de L. B***, Knight of Malta, French Emigrant) p. 53—55.

“ It is not unusual, to plant a poplar upon the grave
 “ just closed up, hung with colours *emblematical of the*
 “ *crimes produced by the Revolution.*”*

PECULATIONS COMMITTED.

“ The republic does not derive from those estates”
 of the emigrants, “ the great sums which their value
 “ seems to promise; for many of the great properties
 “ have been laid waste, and *the most shocking species of*
 “ *plunder has been every where exercised.* The forests are
 “ *cut down, and all moveable goods are sold for trifling*
 “ *sums.* As soon as a small part of the pillage enters
 “ into the coffers of the districts, THE ADMINISTRA-
 “ TORS DIVIDE IT AMONG THEMSELVES. The *whole*
 “ *surface of France is deluged with auctions, and with*
 “ *avaricious and treacherous commissioners.* These are
 “ plunged into prison, and are replaced by other com-
 “ missioners, who immediately *possess themselves of the*
 “ *booty, and are soon robbed of it by a new succession.*
 “ From one end of the kingdom to the other, there is a
 “ contest between the Administrators and Deputies of
 “ the National Convention, *who shall plunder most; and*
 “ both abandon themselves to the most scandalous de-
 “ baucheries. *The most precious moveables become the*
 “ *prey of the most greedy Brigands; and the spoils of the*
 “ *royal palaces are crowded in heaps, in the apartments*
 “ *of the Committees of the Thuilleries, in the offices of*
 “ *the administrative bodies, and in those hotels, which*
 “ *the Deputies buy with the substance of the people and*
 “ *under a fictitious name.*” In “ Versailles,—its De-
 “ partment and the popular societies daily destroy its

* Continuation 104.

“ *Chateau.* Its beautiful avenues of trees are cut down,
 “ the leads are carried away, and a part of its magnifi-
 “ cent iron gates is broken in pieces. The paintings,
 “ which were the admiration of Europe, have perished.”
 At “ Chantilly—, every thing has disappeared in that
 “ asylum of glory, pleasures, and arts.” *

“ Every day are Deputies amassing immense fortunes,
 “ displaying the most insulting luxury; while the people
 “ are obliged to make daily sacrifices, of their property,
 “ their time, and even their very resources.—EVERY
 “ THING IS BECOME AN OBJECT OF PURCHASE AND
 “ SALE. Collot d'Herbois and Lindet, Amar and
 “ Guffroy, Paris and Serjeant, RECEIVE IN THE
 “ COMMITTEES, and even from the hands of THE CON-
 “ STITUTED AUTHORITIES, at one time THE PRICE
 “ OF MURDER, at another THAT OF LIBERTY.
 “ There, as in their shops, always in the most shameful,
 “ and often in the most imprudent manner, are BAR-
 “ GAINED FOR AND SOLD certificates of residence or
 “ of civism, signatures and pass-ports, There might
 “ have been seen Barrere, forcing a most respectable
 “ lady TO PAY HIM A HUNDRED THOUSAND LIVRES
 “ for setting her at liberty; and signing with the same
 “ hand an order for her enlargement, and an order to the
 “ Revolutionary Tribunal to prosecute her again. There
 “ might have been seen Robespierre, encouraging this
 “ venality, and converting it into an instrument for the
 “ destruction of those, whose character he feared.
 “ Thus perished L' Huillier,—thus—Chabot, Basire, La-
 “ croix, Danton, De Launay, D'Angers, Fabre, &c.;
 “ and thus are perishing in their turn the assassin and the

* Continuation 33---35.

“ victim,

“ victim, the *plunderer* and the plundered, all the co-
 “ operators in these wicked and *corrupt* Committees.”*

“ *Many of the Generals put in requisition, table-linen,*
 “ *meat, wine, in short every thing they want, and NEVER*
 “ *PAY FOR THEM.*”†

“ Collot d’Herbois—is proved to have stolen from
 “ the *dead bodies* and *ruins*, which he *multiplied* at Lyons,
 “ TWO MILLIONS THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND LI-
 “ VRES in gold (about 133,000*l.* sterling), which he
 “ hath not accounted for to the Convention.”‡

Couthon’s “ fortune amounts to A MILLION AND
 “ A HALF (about 62,500*l.* sterling). Barrere has
 “ remitted THREE MILLIONS (125,000*l.* sterling) into
 “ Italy and Denmark. Last November” 1793 “ St.
 “ Just declared: “the Marquis of Fontvieille,” his
 “ own name before the Revolution, “ is ruined by the
 “ decrees; but an employment, and six months of Com-
 “ mitteeship, WILL SOON RESTORE ME WHAT I HAVE
 “ LOST.”§.

“ A Deputy, on his mission, ordinarily spends FIF-
 “ TEEN OR TWENTY THOUSAND LIVRES (625*l.* or near
 “ 800*l.*) A MONTH. The national representatives
 “ travel in the *carriages of the court, or of the emigrants,*
 “ drawn by six or eight horses. They *every where keep*
 “ an open table, empty the cellars sequestered for the
 “ benefit of the nation, and addict themselves without
 “ shame to the most irregular inclinations. They have

* Continuation 50---53. † Ibid. 92.

‡ State of France 57. § Ibid. 56.

" the power of life and death; and they DAILY consign
 " victims to punishment, and RECEIVE MONEY TO
 " RESTORE THEM TO LIBERTY. André Dumont has
 " RECEIVED IMMENSE SUMS at Abbeville and Amiens,
 " and in every part of Picardy; and *has even purchased,*
 " in the name of Picot, the Hotel of Plouys, *the most*
 " *handsome in Abbeville;* and hath commissioned him,
 " *to purchase the land of the same name.* Le Vasseur has
 " wrung from the Aristocrats of Lisle and Flanders,
 " near SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND LIVRES (25,000*l.*
 " sterling), and remitted it to Berne. Siblot and Le-
 " gendre have RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE SUMS, in the
 " Departments of the Eure and the Lower Seine. Le
 " Bon has plundered Arras of near FIVE HUNDRED
 " THOUSAND LIVRES (about 20,800*l.* sterling), from
 " sealing their papers, and from the relations of persons
 " he delivered over to the Revolutionary Committee.
 " THE MOST LEGAL EVIDENCE ESTABLISH ALL
 " THESE FACTS." *

" The Committees of Public Safety and General
 " Surety have SOLD MORE CERTIFICATES OF RE-
 " SIDENCE, THAN THEY HAVE MADE LAWS.
 " Without going so far back as Offelin, Chabot, Fa-
 " bre, &c. *who openly carried on the trade,* I will only
 " mention, that Guffroy—, Paris, Amar, Sergeant,
 " TALLIEN, Collot d'Herbois, &c. SELL THEIR SIG-
 " NATURES even upon *the most trivial occasions;* that
 " the two last," Collot d'Herbois and TALLIEN,
 " shared with Barrere TWENTY-THREE THOUSAND
 " LIVRES in *ready money,* besides *plate* to the amount of
 " THIRTY-SEVEN THOUSAND LIVRES, which they

* State of France 55---56.

" took from the Marchioness of Cayrol d'Amboise;
 " that Barrere demanded and was paid THREE HUNDRED
 " AND TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND LIVRES by an
 " emigrant, to restrain him from prosecuting him for
 " his emigration; that he was in treaty with the Abbé
 " de la Tremouille, for *the purchase of his family-estate*,
 " and that he had engaged to take off the sequestration
 " from all his estates, for the sum of NINE HUNDRED
 " THOUSAND LIVRES; that he received from M. Chau-
 " dot, a notary in the street of la Platiere in Paris,
 " NINETY THOUSAND LIVRES, for *procuring the sen-*
 " *tence of death, passed on him by the Revolutionary*
 " *Tribunal, to be annulled, which however was not*
 " *done.* TALLIEN sold *fifty-seven* pass-ports at Bour-
 " deaux; and it has been *proved*, that he received in
 " *that city* not less than EIGHTEEN HUNDRED THOU-
 " SAND LIVRES."*

FOR THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

" To retain the public mind in all its follies, THE
 " MOST BLOODY OUTRAGES are lavished DAILY in the
 " tribunes and on the stage, AGAINST KINGS AND
 " SOVEREIGNS. Whatever can *inflame the mind* or
 " *corrupt the heart*, whatever tends to encourage CRIMES
 " and create REGICIDES, is offered to the multitude
 " with every seduction of novelty; it *captivates* and
 " *blinds* them. The *virtues* and *vices* of history are
 " *alike abused*, and they call to memory THE CRIMES
 " OF EVERY COUNTRY AND EVERY AGE. Tri-co-
 " loured flags, capped with a *bonnet-rouge*, float upon
 " every house, surcharged with emblems OF THE MOST

* Continuation 100---101.

“ OUTRAGEOUS LICENCE, and inscriptions OF THE
 “ MOST SHOCKING NATURE.—The BUSTS OF EVERY
 “ REGICIDE, from Brutus to Ankerstrom, are PLACED
 “ IN THE CONVENTION, and in *all parts most suited to*
 “ *encourage them*; and continual feasts are imposed upon
 “ the people, TO EXCITE THEM TO OUTRAGE AND
 “ VICE.” *

“ The French Republic shall perish, or Monarchy
 “ and the Powers of Europe shall end with the cen-
 “ tury.” These are the projects, which the Com-
 “ mittee of Public Safety *do not hesitate to publish*; and
 “ these words Robespierre, and Barrere, *cease not to*
 “ *pronounce.*” †

“ These principles, which have given birth to pub-
 “ lic schools, sufficiently illustrate their intentions;
 “ and *this generation, whose infancy has been nourished*
 “ in CRIMES, they will make DANGEROUS TO THE
 “ UNIVERSE, from the *necessity of exercising its courage,*
 “ and *maintaining a military republic.* And by the dis-
 “ semination of principles *the most false, yet the most*
 “ *seductive, that men had ever to combat*; we should
 “ EVERY WHERE see a SOVEREIGNTY USURPED, a
 “ LAWLESS EQUALITY, and ROBBERY LEGITIMA-
 “ TED.” †

“ After this picture of the state of France, and the
 “ projects of its tyrants, we may infer; that peace,
 “ accommodation, or negotiation with their republic,
 “ will be THE MOST VIOLENT OUTRAGE UPON SO-

* State of France 22---23.

† Ibid. 47.

‡ Ibid. 48.

“ CIAL ORDER. They wish to invade or destroy *universal property*: no treaty can be sacred with men, who SWEAR TO VIOLATE EVERY THING. By obtaining a *truce*, Europe cannot avoid the calamities which hang over it. THE GERM OF THE REVOLUTION MUST BE EXTIRPATED OUT OF FRANCE, OR EVERY GOVERNMENT WILL SOON EXPERIENCE ITS OWN DESTRUCTION.”*

“ To this end, the Committee of Public Safety points all its efforts; and upon this principal object, they found the stability of their government. A great part of their treasures, and numerous emissaries, are every where employed with an activity and perseverance, equally indefatigable, to disseminate their principles and their crimes. They endeavour to propagate them, in *Piedmont, Poland, Italy, Brabant*, and even in ENGLAND. A very large sum was remitted for this purpose to *Warsaw*, in the beginning of March,” 1794; “ and all the precious stones of France were seized upon, to tempt the *Divan*, and excite a powerful diversion, against the two Imperial Courts.”†

But “ THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT is that, against which the Committee of Public Safety has more particularly hurled its weapons. The fury of its members against that generous nation, carried them so far; that they quite lost sight even of probability, in the absurd projects and views which they ascribed to it. The most wild harangues were poured forth, at the sittings of the Jacobins; discussions were set

* State of France 48---49. † Ibid. 49.

" on foot, in which ignorance and malignity vied with
 " each other. All the societies which are adopted by
 " them, were summoned in the month of February"
 1794, " to make those discussions the order of the day.
 " *There was not an individual, who did not think his civism*
 " *implicated, in calumniating a constitution he did not un-*
 " *derstand, and in ascribing crimes to a people and to ministers,*
 " *whose virtues and characters they were taught to dread.*
 " A hundred pamphlets issued in an instant, from that den
 " of Jacobins.—The members of the Committee of Pub-
 " lic Safety, despairing of being able to infect England
 " with their principles, no longer feared un-riddling
 " them compleatly. THE PILLAGE OF LONDON WAS
 " *made the order of the day, in all the communities of the*
 " republic; and THE ALLUREMENT OF THE RICHES
 " IT CONTAINS, was *every where* made use of to *inflame*
 " *the cupidity of the Sans-culottes.* They were for ever
 " repeating to them, that the estates which the Con-
 " vention were to bestow upon them, would *then only*
 " be thoroughly secure; that the French revolution
 " would *then only* be confirmed; *when* that Constitution
 " which has been so long the glory of England, WAS
 " CHANGED INTO A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT,
 " when Committees, Executions, and Requisitions
 " were established there, when THEY HAD EXTERMI-
 " NATED LONDON as Rome had done Carthage. The
 " Committee of Public Safety then *formally* swore the
 " DESTRUCTION of the ENGLISH NATION. They
 " *swore never to relinquish their arms, till they had*
 " ERECTED THE FLAG OF ANARCHY UPON ITS
 " RUINS."*

* Continuation 68, 69, 70, 71.

" Such

“ Such are the—projects, of the Committee of Pub-
 “ lic Safety ! ITS PROJECTS CAN ONLY PERISH WITH
 “ IT. Its *resources*, considerable as they still are, are
 “ *procured by the most violent measures* ; and ITS VERY
 “ CONTINUATION MUST DESTROY IT.—If at the end
 “ of *this* campaign, whatever be the success, the people
 “ are again forced to spend the *remnant* of their *means*
 “ in favour of their tyrants, and *not obtain the expected*
 “ *peace* ; I hesitate not to declare, that the despair of
 “ repose WILL PRODUCE AN EXPLOSION, FATAL TO
 “ THEIR TYRANTS. I also affirm, that neither the
 “ Committee of Public Safety, nor the succeeding go-
 “ vernment, can resist for TWO YEARS. They can
 “ obtain no supplies, but by penalties ; and these revo-
 “ lutionary means *must necessarily be destroyed and annihila-*
 “ *ted by time*. They flatter themselves with forcing
 “ the belligerent powers, *this winter*, to peace ; and to
 “ be at liberty to employ clemency, property, and re-
 “ pose in such manner, as may consolidate their
 “ power, and *disseminate their fundamental principles to*
 “ *the extremities of the globe.*” * “ —The more the ur-
 “ gency of peace is felt by the Committee of Public
 “ Safety, the more they seem to reject all propositions
 “ for it. Their violent declamations for war, should
 “ not however impose upon any one ; *every day* the
 “ *representatives and commissaries* contradict them, *in*
 “ *their missions*. Two representatives—had secret in-
 “ structions decisive on the subject, *confided to them*
 “ *in the month of April by the Committee of Public Safety* ;
 “ and they said *throughout the country*, to those unfor-
 “ tunate wretches whom they deprived of their chil-

* State of France 49---51.

"dren and their subsistence, TAKE PATIENCE, THE
"WAR WILL BE PUT AN END TO THIS YEAR, and
"THEN you will enjoy abundance and un-molested
"property."*

* Continuation 76.

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